THE

LORDS PROTEST,

November 18, 1740.

To which is added,

CONSIDERATIONS upon the Embargo laid on Proviſion of Victual.

ALSO

The PROTESTS of *Dec.* 8. and 9. *Jan.* 28. and *Feb.* 3.

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(Price Sixpence.)

THE LORDS PROTEST.

Die Martis 18 *Nov.* 1740.

THE Lord Chancellor reported his Majeſty's Speech, and the ſame being afterwards read by the Clerk,

IT was moved to reſolve, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, returning him the Thanks of this Houſe for his moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne.

To congratulate his Majeſty on his ſafe Return to his Regal Dominions; To aſſure his Majeſty, that we will ſtand by him with our Lives and Fortunes, in the Proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary War in which he is engaged.

AND as a further Proof of our Duty and Affection to his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, Royal Family and Government, to aſſure him, that we will exert ourſelves in our high Capacity of Hereditary Great Council of the Crown (to which all other Councils are ſubordinate and accountable) in ſuch a manner as may beſt tend to the promoting the true Intereſt of his Majeſty, and our Country, in this critical Juncture.

THEN

THEN it was likewiſe moved to order, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to return him the Thanks of this Houſe, for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

TO acknowledge his Majeſty's great Wiſdom and his Adherence to the true Intereſt of his Kingdoms in reſolving to carry on this juſt and neceſſary War in the moſt proper Places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, and in not ſuffering himſelf to be diverted or deterr'd from thoſe Meaſures.

TO give his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, That if any Power ſhould attempt to preſcribe or limit the Operations of War againſt his declared Enemies, ſuch an extraordinary Proceeding would not fail to create a juſt Indignation in us, and determine us to concur in all proper Meaſures for vindicating and defending his Dignity and Honour againſt any Inſults, and fruſtrating any Deſigns formed againſt us.

TO aſſure his Majeſty, That this Houſe will zealouſly ſtand by and ſupport him in adhering to the Engagements he is under for maintaining the Balance and Liberties of *Europe*, on the Event of the late Emperor's Death, as well as in the Proſecution of the preſent War.

TO expreſs our unſhaken and unalterable Fidelity and Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and our ardent Wiſhes, that all his Enterprizes for maintaining the Honour of his Crown, and the Rights of his People, may be bleſſed with Succeſs.

And a Queſtion being ſtated on each Propoſition,

After Debate

The previous Queſtion was put, Whether the Queſtion firſt ſtated ſhall be now put,

It was Reſolv'd in the Negative.

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Diſſentiens

Diſſentient

Macclesfield.

1. Becauſe we conceive, that a Motion of this Nature ought not to have been laid aſide by the previous Queſtion; but we apprehend it would have been more conſiſtent with the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe to have paſſed it in the Affirmative, ſince it contained the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of our Duty to his Majeſty, and of our Zeal to ſupport him with our Lives and Fortunes in the Proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary War; moreover, it had been univerſally allowed in the Debate, that the ancient Uſage of this Houſe was to return immediately a general Addreſs of Thanks only for the Speech from the Throne, and to appoint a future Day for taking the ſaid Speech into Conſideration: By which wiſe Method of proceeding, this Houſe had an Opportunity of forming their Judgment and offering their Advice to the Crown, upon the ſeveral Matters contained in the Speech after due Enquiry and mature Deliberation.

2. Becauſe, tho' the Speech from the Throne is in Parliament juſtly conſider'd as the Act of his Miniſters, yet a Motion preconcerted, if not drawn by themſelves, echoing back the Particulars of the Speech, is, as we conceive, a modern Expedient to procure a precipitate Approbation of Meaſures which might not be approved upon better Conſideration. It was indeed alledged in the Debate, in ſupport of this Practice, that it was introduced during the late War, in the Adminiſtration of the late Earl of *Godolphin*; but we ſhould alſo conſider the Reaſon of it (we heartily wiſh we had now the ſame) that the Zeal of the Houſe was then every Year animated by the glorious Succeſſes of the Queen's Arms under the Command of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and tho' it is always admitted that theſe haſty Addreſſes do not preclude the Houſe from future Enquiries or Cenſures; yet ſhou'd Cenſures, in Conſequence of ſuch Enquiries, become neceſſary, they would produce an Inconſiſtency between the firſt Addreſs and the ſubſequent Reſolutions, and argue a Levity highly unbecoming the Wiſdom and Dignity of this Houſe.

3 Becauſe

3. Becauſe one Part of this Motion, the Congratulation upon his Majeſty's ſafe Return to his Regal Dominions could be liable to no Objection, but ſeemed at this Time peculiarly reaſonable, ſince it was evident to the whole Kingdom, the Sailing of the Fleet, which had been delay'd ſo long, was the immediate Effect of his happy Return.

4 Becauſe we conceive, that our aſſuring his Majeſty that we would exert ourſelves in our high Capacity of Hereditary Great Council of the Crown, would have given Encouragement to his Allies, Confidence to his Armies, and Satisfaction to his Subjects, eſpecially in this critical Conjuncture, wherein the Advice of this Houſe is more than ever neceſſary, ſince by the Inaction of this laſt Year in all Parts (except wherein Admiral *Vernon* commanded) notwithſtanding the vaſt Fleets and Armies maintained at ſo immenſe a Charge, this juſt and neceſſary War ſeems hitherto to have been carried on by the *ſame Spirit* and *Advice* which ſo long delay'd the entering into it; and we conceive that the ſtricteſt Enquiries into ſuch Conduct are the moſt probable Means of redreſſing our Grievances at Home, and bringing the War Abroad to a ſpeedy and happy Concluſion.

Buccleugh,	*Talbot,*	*Carliſle,*
Stanhope,	*Willoughby de Br.*	*Denbigh,*
Hallifax,	*Greenwich,*	*Bathurſt,*
Cheſterfield,	*Carteret,*	*Craven,*
Bridgwater,	*Shaftsbury,*	*Thanet,*
Winchelſea & Not.	*Clifton,*	*Gower,*
Beaufort,	*Haverſham,*	*Aylesford.*
Litchfield.		

Then it was propoſed to inſert in the ſecond ſtated Queſtion, immediately before the laſt Paragraph, the Words of the firſt Queſtion, except thoſe in the Parenthesis.

Which being objected to,

The Queſtion was put, Whether thoſe Words ſhall be inſerted.

It was reſolved in the Negative.

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Diſſentient'

Becauſe when theſe Words made Part of the Queſtion firſt moved, they were allowed by every Lord, who ſpoke to the Debate, to be proper and unexceptionable, and the following Parentheſis only (to which all other Councils are Subordinate and Accountable) was objected to, as liable to a Miſconſtruction in another Houſe; we cannot therefore but be ſurprized that when this Queſtion, freed from that Shadow of an Objection, (as we conceive) was offered as an Amendment to the Motion for an Addreſs, it ſhould have been rejected; and the more ſo, ſince the Negative paſſed upon it may be conſtrued to imply, What we are perſwaded no Lord in this Houſe can intend, (whatever others may wiſh) a Reſolution not to *enquire*, *adviſe*, or *cenſure*, even tho' *juſt Suſpicions*, *imprudent Councils*, or *criminal Meaſures* ſhould require it.

Bridgwater, &c. *Gower*, &c. *Halliſax*, &c. *as before.*

Conſiderations upon the Embargo on Proviſion of Victual.

IT is to be conſider'd, whether the Intereſt of Contractors for Proviſion for the Publick, was not the Motive which firſt ſtarted the Notion of the Embargo upon Victual, and whether the ſame Intereſt be not now a grand, though ſecret Motive of its Continuance *. Theſe Contractors being very ſenſible, that the Demand abroad, for *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* Beef, muſt greatly enhance the Price, and that there was no way for them to keep it down, but by endeavouring to confine theſe Commodities to their own Market, had Addreſs to effect their End in part, by obtaining the Embargo in *Ireland*, which they have good Reaſon to labour to have continued there, and farther extended. For thus they will become abſolute Maſters over a great Part of the Land-holders in *England*, as they have been for ſome Time over above half the Land-holders of *Ireland*, who are obliged to ſell at the Price they pleaſe to give. The exported Produce of that Country, in the Cattle Trade, being near 600,000 *l. per annum*, excluſive of any Commodity derived from Sheep, and the whole Value of the Export of that Kingdom, not exceeding 1,050,000 *l.* which are Facts extremely certain, and taken from the Books of the Cuſtoms there, upon a Parliamentary Inſpection.

It

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* The Houſe may have a very curious and ſurpriſing Knowledge of this Tranſaction, by ordering the proper Officers to lay before them the Contracts made in the Year 1739 and 1740 by the Victualling-Office, together with the Papers and Applications which relate to this Affair, as far as it concerns the *Iriſh* Proviſions, delivered or made to the ſaid Commiſſioners for Victualling, the Lords of the Admiralty, and ſome other Offices.

Which, if fairly obtained, will enable the Houſe to judge, whether a Care and Tenderneſs to two Contractors have not plainly been the ſole and true Cauſe (whatever popular Pretences are thrown out) of all the ſevere Meaſures, with reſpect to Trade, already ruinouſly executed upon *Ireland*, and now projected for the whole Nation.

It is to be conſider'd, whether any great Men were induced to favour this Scheme from any private Advantages which they were to receive from the Contractors, in conſideration of it; and it ought to be underſtood, that this is the faireſt Opportunity for the greateſt Money Jobb, that may ever offer again to any Man in Power.

It ought to be farther conſider'd, when the Bill offered to Parliament for regulating this Affair ſhall be examin'd, whether the Hopes of extraordinary and partial Powers to be granted to the Crown by it, might not be a principal Reaſon for inſinuating the Neceſſity of this Meaſure, eſpecially at this Conjuncture, when a new Parliament is to be ſhortly called.

It ſhould be obſerved, what Induſtry was uſed from Time to Time in the publick Papers, to prepare the Minds of the People in favour of an Embargo, particularly with reſpect to the *Iriſh* Beef: And whether this does not ſeem to have proceeded rather from the Spirit of private Intereſt, than a Zeal for the publick Good; eſpecially as the latter End was ill anſwer'd, by alarming our Enemies with the Apprehenſion of an approaching Prohibition, and could tend only to haſten them in making their Proviſion, before they were prevented.

It is to be conſider'd, what can be the Reaſons or Views of a certain Gentleman, in preſſing to do that by Act of Parliament, which by the known Conſtitution of the Kingdom may be done, and has been done by an allow'd Prerogative.

It is to be conſider'd, why *Ireland* is to be mention'd by the Bill, ſince the Prerogative has already had in that Country a full Effect without a Bill; and whether the doing this by an *Engliſh* Law, being neceſſary, will not create Diſcontents there, which had better be avoided, eſpecially at this Conjuncture.

It is to be conſider'd, why *Ireland*, which has the ſame *Magna Charta* and Common Law with *England*, ſhould be ſubjected to an Embargo by Prerogative, if that Embargo was illegal; and if it was not illegal, why *England* was not ſubject to it at the ſame Time.

It is to be conſider'd, why that Embargo upon *Ireland* was laid upon the whole Trade, to the immenſe Damage of that Country, notwithſtanding the Relaxation

of it in ſome Inſtances: And whether the doing it in that Way, did not evidently tend to create ſervile Applications, great Loſs of Time and Opportunities, great Dependence upon Men in Power, and poſſibly great Corruption. And whether it is not an Abſurdity to ſuppoſe the Prerogative ſufficient to exerciſe a general Embargo upon the whole Trade, and inſufficient to do it upon a few Branches only.

It is to be conſider'd, that the Embargo in *Ireland* was laid at a Conjuncture above all others fatal; the Rents of that Country being chiefly made during the Slaughter Seaſon, which is in the Months of *October*, *November*, and *December*.

It is to be conſider'd, why the Embargo was laid after the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleets were ſail'd; and if neceſſary at all, why not before.

It is to be conſider'd, whether it can be ſuppos'd that the provident Adminiſtration of *France* and *Spain* would have hazarded the Succeſs of ſo great a Deſign, and the Loſs of ſo great an Armament, to an Event which they knew to be ſo much in our Power, as the Embargo upon *Iriſh* Beef. Whether therefore it could be reaſonably ſuppos'd, that this Meaſure, which has been talk'd up as ſo Important, could have taken any ſtrong Effect.

It is to be conſider'd, whether any Man can with any Appearance of Reaſon ſuggeſt, that this Embargo could have had any better Effect than to occaſion ſome Diſtreſs among the *French* and *Spaniſh* Forces, to oblige them to be contented with a more ſpare and leſs agreeable Diet, or to be at ſome greater Expence to procure Proviſion; and whether any Man can be ſo ſanguine to believe, that we ſhall render them *unfit for Action and Service* by this Means.

It is to be conſider'd, whether, *if they are ſtill fit for Action and Service*, the Degree of Diſtreſs we ſhall create to them will be of any Advantage to juſtify ſo extraordinary a Meaſure; and whether, when it is rightly underſtood by the Publick, they can think it ſufficient to balance the extravagant Loſs it will occaſion to *Ireland* and to our own Colonies.

It is to be conſider'd, what this Loſs will be, whether it will not occaſion a total Stagnation of Trade in ſome of

of our Colonies: Whether Proviſions exported from *Ireland* are not annually worth 600,000 *l.* and whether it be poſſible that any Remedy can be apply'd to the Diſtreſs of that Nation, occaſioned by this Embargo, when half the Beef they export is of ſo bad a kind, that no People can conſume it but the *French*; and conſequently that if *England* were ever ſo willing to relieve *Ireland*, ſhe cannot buy that Product.

It is to be conſider'd, how unequally this Blow muſt fall, and that this Loſs will lie in a Manner wholly upon one fourth Part of *Ireland*, above three fourths of the exported Beef, *&c.* ariſing from the Province of *Munſter* only.

It is to be conſider'd, what a deplorable Ruin muſt attend the fourth Part of any Country, by a certain annual Loſs of at leaſt 300,000 *l.* where the Rents of that whole Country amount but to 1,700,000 *l.*

It is to be conſider'd, whoſe Loſs this in the End will be; and whether it will not be the Loſs of *England*: Since it is demonſtrable that *England* gets all the Balance of the Trade of *Ireland*, as appears from hence, that the current Species of *Ireland* is certainly not augmented for twenty Years paſt, tho' the Balance of Trade is known to be more than 400,000 *l. per Ann.* in her Favour

It is to be conſider'd, whether the Growth of Wool, and the woollen Manufactures of *Ireland*, if they are ſo prejudicial to the woollen Trade of *England*, as ſome would popularly ſuggeſt, will not be enlarged to the Prejudice of *England*, by driving the *Iriſh* out of a Trade, which now employs ſo great a Portion of their Land.

It is to be conſider'd, what was the Practice of this Nation in all our former Wars, and upon what Motives it was, that in the Reign of *Charles* II. in 1667, when *England* was at War with *Holland*, *France*, and *Denmark*, at a Period when the Prejudices againſt *Ireland* firſt had Riſe, and were moſt violent; it was reſolved by the Council of *England*, that the *Iriſh* ſhould export their Beef and Proviſions to the Enemy, in Purſuance of which Reſolution a Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom was then iſſued to that Purpoſe.

It is to be conſidered likewiſe, upon what Motives, in the Wars of King *William* and Queen *Anne* with *France*, the ſame Indulgence was ſhewn to *Ireland*, and their Exportation privately encouraged by the Government of *England*, notwithſtanding any general Embargoes laid by Act of Parliament.

It is to be conſider'd, whether the *Dutch*, the wiſeſt Nation in the World with Reſpect to Commerce, ever thought it adviſable to refuſe to ſupply their Enemies with any Commodity whatſoever.

It is to be conſider'd, now the Scarcity of Graſs and Hay is ſo exceſſive, what can be done with our Cattle if they are not exported; and whether it be better that they ſhould periſh at home, than be ſold to our Enemies.

It is to be conſider'd, whether Money be not the Sinew of War; and whether to deny ourſelf the Profit of a very advantageous Trade, be a natural Way to prove ſucceſsful againſt our Enemies.

It is to be conſider'd, whether one of the Calamities of War is not the Interruption of our Commerce.

Whether to render this greater than it muſt neceſſarily be, can deſerve the Encomiums which a certain Perſon and his Adherents beſtow upon this Meaſure.

Whether one of the moſt valuable Circumſtances of Admiral *Vernon*'s glorious Demoliſhing of *Porto-Bello* has not been thought, by all knowing Men, to be the opening of that Coaſt to our Merchants, and the Means thereby given to ſupply the *Spaniſh America* with Commodities of this Country.

Whether there is any Maxim ſo ſolid, and ſo incapable of being contraverted with Reſpect to Trade, as that it ought never to be reſtrained.

Whether the eternal Conſequence of Reſtriction in Commerce has not been the Diverſion of it into a new Channel.

Whether the Reſtraint upon the Exportation of Iron, laid by *Sweden* ſome Years ago, has been recovered by *Sweden*, and whether *Spain* was not an immenſe Gainer by it.

Whether the Reſtraint upon the *Iriſh* Trade in Cattle, impoſed by *England*, did not throw the Beef Trade into *Ireland*, and give it to that very Country, which was imprudently deſigned to be excluded from it.

Whether

Whether the Prohibition of the *Iriſh* to carry on the woollen Manufacture, did not throw the woollen Trade as well out of their Hands as ours, and eſtabliſh the ſame in all Parts of *Europe*.

Whether any Folly be more exploded, if fatal and general Experience can explode a Folly, than the Suppoſition, that any Nation can exclude the reſt of the World from any Branch of Commerce.

Whether it can be ſuppoſed that Providence has been ſo ſevere upon any Country, as to put it in the Power of another to ſtarve her Inhabitants.

It is to be conſidered, whether it is poſſible to conceive, that any Nation abounding in Wealth, can fail to be ſupplied with Neceſſaries for Money.

It is to be conſidered, whether *Denmark*, *Jutland*, *Holſtein*, and other Places in the *Baltick*, which now export great Quantities of live Cattle, may not ſalt their Beef, and ſupply *France* and *Spain* with it; and whether they will not keep that Trade when they have once experienc'd the Advantage of it.

It is to be conſidered, whether *Hungary*, *Flanders*, and *France* itſelf, may not, upon Encouragement, ſupply a Part.

It is to be conſidered, whether the Foreſts of *France* and *Germany* may not ſupply great Quantities of Pork; and whether that Proviſion will not anſwer the End of Beef.

It is to be conſidered, whether *Holland* may not ſupply vaſt Quantities, particularly of Pork, from *Germany*, by means of the navigable Rivers which flow from thence thro' that Country.

It is to be conſidered what Effect the Lucre of this Branch of Trade may have upon the Councils of thoſe Nations which may gain it from us: And whether *France* may not acquire a dangerous Influence over ſome of our beſt Allies by that Event.

It is to be conſidered, nay it is to be known, That there is a Method of ſalting and curing Cattle in the very hotteſt Latitudes, and under the Line itſelf, tho' the Secret is as yet in few Hands; and whether Neceſſity and Money will not open that Secret to *France* and *Spain*.

It is to be conſidered, whether in all ſuch Caſes, many Places for Supply and Means of it may not be found, which no preſent Foreſight can ſuggeſt.

Whether a very hard Seaſon, and a Dearth of Grain abroad, is not by all thinking Men apprehended as a fatal Incident to *England*, tho' ſhe is not herſelf a preſent Sufferer by it, and may be an immediate Gainer by the Exportation of greater Quantities of Corn; ſince the Alarm it gives to foreign Nations, tends to put them upon Meaſures for enlarging their Tillage, and finding Means to ſupply themſelves at Home with Grain, which *France* has lately done, by founding a Company, and giving great Advantages and Premiums, for raiſing Rice in that Country.

Whether therefore it may be thought adviſeable to urge this Diſtreſs in any Kind; and whether it is not adding an Incentive to their Endeavours in this Way.

Whether from this juſt Conſideration, all Embargoes, or other Difficulties upon Exportation, are not in the Nature of the Thing injurious and abſurd.

Whether it is beneath a Man of Senſe, upon better Conſideration, to reject Opinions, however warmly he may have eſpouſed them, before the State of the Queſtion had been throughly canvaſſed.

Whether therefore there may not be great Hope, that the Act relating to the Embargo will never paſs.

And if it ſhould paſs, 1. That it may relate to Corn only, a Reſtraint upon which ſeems to be juſtified for the preſent by no other Reaſon but the great Want of it at Home, which our late ill Seaſons threaten.

2. That it ſhould not extend either to *Ireland*, or the Plantations, who will be infallibly diſtreſs'd beyond Example, and almoſt to utter Ruin by it.

3. That if it muſt paſs, it ſhould be general as to every diſtinct Species, to avoid Partiality, and Increaſe of Miniſterial Power.

4. That it ſhould be in the Power of the Crown to relieve it in any one Branch of Exportation, provided the Relief or the Reſtraint be general as to the particular Branch; becauſe it may be neceſſary to prevent the Exportation of Corn, and at the ſame Time fatal to hinder that of other Proviſions.

5. That

5. That Care be taken to allow the Export of Corn to *Ireland*, either from the Plantations or *England*; without which *Ireland*, who does not grow Corn enough for her Home Conſumption, and is now in great Diſtreſs from the Loſs of Potatoes by the Froſt, may greatly ſuffer by Famine, eſpecially if this Winter ſhould be attended with much ſevere Weather.

Upon the Whole, it is to be hoped that Men in Power, if they ſhould be convinced by theſe Conſiderations, that they have not deſerved the Applauſe which has been raſhly given to this Meaſure, and that it is really deſtructive and dangerous, will be generous enough to reſign their Pretenſions to this Glory, rather than ſacrifice the Trade and Intereſt of theſe Dominions, by maintaining their firſt Opinion.

P. S.

It is actually now known, that the *French* have contracted already for an annual Supply of 6000 Tons, or 60000 Barrels of Beef from *Jutland*, at the Rate of 200 wt. *per* Barrel, which is within 20000 Barrels of the greateſt Quantity ever taken by them from *Ireland* in Times of Peace. So that in all Probability an irrecoverable Blow is already given to that Branch of Trade; and they have actually contracted with *Holland* for a farther Quantity.

Certain Advices are received, that the *French* Fleets are actually in *America*; which may ſerve ſufficiently to evince, that ſome Perſons have boaſted too much of their Sagacity in impoſing the Embargo: The great, and indeed only plauſible Pretence for it, being to prevent their Navigation thither at this critical Conjuncture, which it was confidently affirmed it would effect.

This was foretold at a Time when the Prejudices in favour of the Embargo were too ſtrong to admit Credit to that Suggeſtion. It is to be wiſhed, that the farther Prophecy contained in this Paper may not likewiſe be moſt fatally accompliſhed.

Die Lunæ 8. Dec. 1740.

MOVED to Order, That Copies of the ſeveral Inſtructions given to Rear Admiral *Haddock*, from the time of his Sailing from *England* in the Year 1738, to the 24th of *June* laſt, be laid before this Houſe.

The ſame was objected to.

And a Queſtion being ſtated thereupon,

After Debate, and Reading ſome Inſtances out of the Journals, of procuring Inſtructions and Papers to be laid before the Houſe, as well by their Lordſhips Orders, as Addreſſes to the Crown,

The Queſtion was put upon the ſaid Motion,

Contents 41. } And it was Reſolved in the
Not Contents 58. } Negative.

Diſſentient'

1. Becauſe we conceive, that there never were Inſtructions more neceſſary to be examin'd than thoſe contain'd in this Queſtion, in order to enable us to Diſcharge our Duty, both as Counſellors to His Majeſty, and Guardians of the Nation.

The known and aſtoniſhing Inaction, for the Space of above two Years, of a great and powerful Fleet, fitted out and maintain'd at an immenſe Expence to the Nation, fixes a heavy Charge either upon the Commander of that Squadron, or upon thoſe who gave him his Inſtructions. But when We compare the experienced Courage and Abilities of Rear-Admiral *Haddock*, upon all former Occaſions, with the inglorious Inſtructions given by this Adminiſtration to the ſeveral Admirals employed

employed for theſe laſt Twenty Years, We cannot, as at preſent inform'd, but impute this unaccountable Inaction to the Weakneſs or Puſillanimity of thoſe, whoſe Inſtructions we are perſwaded he with concern obey'd. And we are confirm'd in this Opinion, by his being ſtill continued in that Command, which a Diſobedience to his Inſtructions would have forfeited.

2. Becauſe We think it neceſſary that the Houſe ſhould be fully informed, by what fatal Miſtake, Negligence or Deſign, the *Spaniſh* Squadron at *Cadiz*, ſo long block'd up in that Port, while they were neither ready, nor the Seaſon of the Year fit for 'em to go out, ſhould have been, by the ſudden withdrawing of Our Fleet into the Mediterranean, permitted to Sail without Moleſtation, as ſoon as they were fit, and the Seaſon favourable. And we cannot, as at preſent inform'd, impute that unhappy Meaſure to any Miſtake in Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, ſince Orders of that great Importance ought to be conceived in the cleareſt, plaineſt, and leaſt ambiguous Terms, which had he miſtaken, he would not have been, as he now is, entruſted with the Command of ſo great a Fleet, and with the Interpretation of Inſtructions of ſtill greater Conſequence. Nor can we conceive, that the Communication of Orders relating only to Sailing, and the Change of Station, can ſufficiently clear up a Point of that great Importance.

3. Becauſe we think that the State Objection, that the Communication of theſe Inſtructions may diſcover to Our Enemies intended Deſigns and Attempts, can have no Weight upon that Occaſion, when the Reaſon for calling for thoſe Inſtructions, is becauſe no one Attempt of any kind whatſover has been made upon our Enemies in the Courſe of above two Years; and it is not credible, that if during that time any one Deſign had been intended, no one Attempt ſhould have been made in Conſequence of it. We therefore juſtly may, and only can conceive, theſe Inſtructions, which we were not allowed to apply for, to be of the ſame inactive Nature of thoſe which we have formerly ſeen flowing from the ſame languid Source, to the equal Diſhonour of His Majeſty's Councils and Arms.

4. Becauſe we conceive, that the Denial of theſe neceſſary Lights, puts a full Stop to any farther effectual Enquiry into the Conduct of the War; an Enquiry ſo becoming this Houſe; and ſo unanimouſly called for by the Voice of the whole Nation, that the outward Appearances have at once raiſed the Curioſity, the Aſtoniſhment, and the Concern of a Brave and a Loyal People, willing to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Honour and Advantage of His Majeſty and this Kingdom, in the Proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary War: And We conceive that they ought, by the ſtricteſt Enquiry, upon the fulleſt Informations, to have been ſatisfied as to the paſt, and ſecured as to the future. And We think that all Minute Enquiries into the little Abuſes of inferior Officers, over whom it is the Duty of the Adminiſtration to Watch, would be only amuſing and deceiving Mankind with the Name of an Enquiry, and deſcending from our Dignity of Counſellors of the Crown, and Checks of the Adminiſtration, to the low Rank of *Inquiſitors* into the Conduct of petty and unprotected Offenders. We therefore think that We have diſcharged our Duty to His Majeſty and the Publick, in having moved for thoſe Papers, which We conſider'd as the Foundations abſolutely neceſſary for a proper and effectual Enquiry. We here enter Our Diſſent upon the Denial of thoſe Papers; the World muſt then judge of the Conduct of the War upon the Appearance of Facts and Circumſtances; with this conſiderable additional Circumſtance, That Lights were denied.

Litchfield,
Bridgwater,
Shaftsbury,
Carliſle,
Falmouth,
Abingdon,
Haverſham,
Talbot,
Denbigh,
Bathurſt,
Middleton,
Thanet,
Suffolk,
Aylesford,
Oxford,
Hereford,
Montjoy,
Greenwich,
Ward,
Northampton,
Cheſterfield,
Berkſhire,
Gower,
Briſtol,
Weſtmoreland,
Cobham,
R. Lincoln.

Die

Die Martis, 9. Dec. 1740.

THE Order of the Day being read, for taking the State of the Army into Conſideration,

It was propoſed to Reſolve, That Augmenting the Army by raiſing Regiments, as it is the moſt unneceſſary and moſt expenſive Method of Augmentation, is alſo the moſt dangerous to the Liberties of *Britain*.

Which being objected to, and long Debate thereupon,

The previous Queſtion was put?

Whether the ſaid Queſtion ſhall be now put?

Contents	42.	It was Reſolved in the Negative.
Not Contents	59.	

Diſſentient

1. Becauſe we conceive, That this Motion ought not to have been laid aſide by the previous Queſtion, the Arguments urged in the Debate againſt our coming to this Reſolution at this time, being, in our Opinion, highly inſufficient, ſince we cannot apprehend what further Lights could be had with Relation to the ſeveral Propoſitions contained in the Queſtion, than thoſe we receiv'd in the Debate, authorized by the Uſage of almoſt all the Nations in *Europe*; nor were there any particular Papers pointed out, as neceſſary for the Information of the Houſe; and we thought this the propereſt time to come to this Reſolution, before any Steps were taken as to the Method of making the intended Augmentation.

2. Becauſe it was proved in the Debate, and univerſally admitted, that the Augmentation of our Land Forces, by the raiſing of new Corps, was by near One Third, a more expenſive manner of Augmenting, than

by additional Men to Companies. A Conſideration which, in Our Opinion, ought to have the greateſt Weight at this Time, when the Nation is engaged in a new War, and ſtill groaning under all the Burthen of the laſt, tho' after Thirty Years Peace.

3. Becauſe conſidering that the Oeconomy of Augmenting the Forces by Additional Men to Companies, was admitted, and the Utility of it not diſproved, we cannot help ſuſpecting, that the Raiſing of new Corps at this Time, when the Election of a New Parliament draws ſo near, may be of a dangerous Tendency to the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and relate more to Civil than Military Service, eſpecially ſince there are now no Officers to be found (the Officers now remaining upon half Pay, having been already judged by the Adminiſtration unfit forService) it is, in our Opinion, opening a Door to introduce a large Body of Commiſſion'd Penſioners. Theſe Suſpicions are ſtrengthen'd, by the Experience we have had, That no Rank has been either above or below Miniſterial Reſentment, and the Severity of Parliamentary Diſcipline; and we muſt with Concern obſerve, that the Honour of the Nation, and the Fate of this Important War, has been intruſted to Raw and New-levied Troops, in order, as we apprehend, to keep the others at home, only for Civil Purpoſes.

Weſtmoreland,	*Oxford,*	*Briſtol,*
Northampton,	*Greenwich,*	*Litchfield,*
Shaftsbury,	*Bathurſt,*	*Thanet,*
Suffolk,	*Cobham,*	*Berkſhire,*
Abingdon,	*Middleton,*	*Aylesford,*
Cheſterfield,	*Gower,*	*Talbot,*
Halifax,	*Bridgwater,*	*Haverſham,*
Carliſle,	*Hereford.*	

Die Mercurij, 28. *Jan.* 1740.

MOved to reſolve, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions to the proper Officers, to lay before this Houſe, ſuch Repreſentations as have been made by Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, in any of his Letters to his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; or to the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, in relation to the Want of more Ships, or more Men, or any Intimations of Service he could have performed, if he had been ſupply'd with a few more Ships, and ſome Land Forces.

The ſame was Objected to,
And Debate thereupon,
The Queſtion was put,
Whether ſuch an Addreſs ſhall be preſented
to his Majeſty?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

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Not Cont. 71.

Diſſentient'

Becauſe we conceive, that the Houſe entered into this Enquiry, with a View to form a proper Judgment on the Conduct of the War; and ſome Extracts of Letters, have been laid before us, but ſuch, as we apprehend, do not even anſwer the Demand of the Houſe, much leſs the End of the Enquiry: Yet it appears plainly, from thoſe few Extracts, that Admiral *Vernon* has made frequent and grievous Complaints of the inſufficency of his Stores, and has repreſented them as fit only for a *Spithead Expedition:* We have therefore the

ſtrongeſt Grounds, to be perſwaded, that in ſome of his Letters, he has made Demands of more Ships, and more Men, tho' nothing relating to thoſe Articles has been laid before us hitherto. Had he been ſent out with a greater Force at firſt, or had freſh Succours of Ships and Men, with proper Stores, been ſent after him in due time, we are firmly of Opinion, that he would have gain'd ſuch further Advantages, as might long before now have proved *Deciſive*. By the Dilatory Proceeding of the Adminiſtration, as it appears to us, the Scene is much changed; the *Spaniſh* Fleet has been ſuffer'd to ſail out of their Ports, to carry Supplies of all kinds to their Garriſons; Opportunity, has been given them to repair their Fortifications in *America*; and, which is ſtill of more Conſequence, as we fear, to procure the Aſſiſtance of another Power, who was not ready, if willing, at that time, to give us any Diſturbance in thoſe Parts.

Greenwich,	*Carliſle*,	*Aylesford*,
Berkſhire,	*Middleton*,	*Buccleugh*,
Exeter,	*Montjoy*,	*Cobham*,
Bathurſt,	*Bruce*,	*Beaufort*,
Shaftsbury,	*Suffolk*,	*Hereford*,
Manſell,	*Weſtmoreland*,	*Denbigh*,
Bridgwater,	*Gower*,	*Abingdon*,
Foley,	*Haverſham*,	*Litchfield*.

Then it was propoſed to order, that a Secret Committee be appointed to enquire into the Conduct of the War, conſiſting of all the Lords of this Houſe, who are of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

Which being Objected to,

After further Debate,

The Queſtion was put upon the ſecond Propoſition,

And it was reſolved in the Negative.

Contents 43.
Not Cont. 68.

Diſſentient

Diſſentient'

1. Becauſe the Neceſſity of Secrecy, and the Danger of communicating Matters of Importance, to ſo numerous an Aſſembly of this Houſe, having been conſtantly urged as the only Arguments, for refuſing the Lights abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on, with any Hopes of Succeſs, an Enquiry into the *Unaccountable Conduct* of the War, we thought the propoſing of this Committee would fully have obviated thoſe Objections, by confining the Knowledge of thoſe Secrets, (if any ſuch there be amongſt thoſe who by the Conſtitution are ſupported and appointed to be informed of them) and the Negative put upon this Motion, gives us but too juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect, that the moſt material Tranſactions, with relation to this War, have been concealed from thoſe who, by their Situations, ought, in the very firſt Inſtance, to have been conſulted.

2. Becauſe the ſo often urged Argument of Secrecy proves too much; and may as often without, as with Reaſon, be uſed in Bar of all Enquiries, that any Adminiſtration, conſcious either of their *Guilt*, or their *Ignorance*, may deſire to defeat. It may not only prove the *Security*, but the *Cauſe* of a *Sole Miniſter*, Secrecy being undoubtedly beſt obſerved by *One*, and ſuch a *Sole Miniſter* may, by the ſame Reaſoning, as well refuſe the Communication of Meaſures to the reſt of his Majeſty's Council, and thereby engroſs a Power inconſiſtent with, and fatal to this Conſtitution; and we cannot help obſerving, that ſuch a timorous and a ſcrupulous Secrecy, is much oftener the *Refuge of Guilt*, than the *Reſort* of *Innocence*.

Signed by the ſame Lords as before.

Die Martis, 3. *Feb.* 1740.

THE Order of the Day being read, for taking into Conſideration the ſeveral Eſtimates of the Charge of the Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces, the Charge of His Majeſty's Forces in the Plantations, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*, and the Charge of Seven Regi-

ments of Foot, and Four Regiments of Marines, to be raiſed for the Year 1741, laid before this Houſe, the 19th of *January* laſt.

It was moved to reſolve, that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly repreſenting to him, that this Houſe cannot conceive the intended Augmentation of Land Forces, to be neceſſary either from the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, or from any Lights they have received; ſuch as have always been thought neceſſary by our Anceſtors, to juſtify the laying any extraordinary Burthens on the Subjects: And moſt humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that if he ſhould however think ſo great an Augmentation abſolutely neceſſary, he will, at leaſt, be graciouſly pleaſed, as well for the preſent, as for the future Eaſe of his Subjects, to order it to be made in the moſt frugal Manner, by ſuch an Addition of private Men to the preſent Regiments, as His Majeſty, from His own Wiſdom and Knowledge in the Practice of moſt other Countries, may judge to be moſt proper for Military Service, and leaſt dangerous to this Conſtitution.

Which being objected to, after a long Debate thereon,

The Queſtion was put,

Whether ſuch an Addreſs ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty,

It was reſolved in the Negative.

Contents 49.
Not Cont. 67.

Diſſentient'

1. Becauſe we conceive, that nothing leſs than an abſolute and evident Neceſſity ſhou'd prevail with us, to conſent to any Augmentation of our Land Forces, which in our Opinions are, at preſent, fully ſufficient for any good Purpoſes, either abroad, or at home; being very near equal to the higheſt Eſtabliſhment, during the whole Courſe of the laſt General War; the Nation-

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nal Troops now ſubſiſting (excluſive of thoſe in *Ireland*) amount to 51515 Effective Men: Whereas our greateſt Number of National Troops, in the laſt War, was but 67000 Men, including the Non-Effectives; which, reduced to the Foot of our preſent Eſtabliſhment, makes but 67000 Effective Men; and the preſent intended Augmentation of 10325 Men, is ſuch an *exceeding Thing*, as can only be authoriz'd by the like publick Dangers; which Dangers not appearing to us, either from the Debate, or from any Information we have obtained, we are unwilling to truſt more Force in the Hand of an Adminiſtration, which (as far as we are able to recollect) have not hitherto employ'd any they have been intruſted with, to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation. Extraordinary Truſt and Confidence ought, as we apprehend, to be only placed in ſuch, who, by the Experience of their paſt Conduct, have juſtly eſtabliſhed their Credit, and entitled themſelves to be ſo truſted. But when we look back upon the ſeveral Augmentations within theſe laſt Twenty Years, demanded and granted upon Cauſes more ſtrongly aſſerted, than clearly proved, but viſibly without any good End ever attained; and particularly when we reflect, that by a moſt unccountable Fluctuation and Contrariety of Meaſures, a very great Augmentation was made in the Year 1727, to act in Conjunction with *France*, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for whoſe Defence the preſent Augmentation is ſaid to be principally intended: We thought it our Duty to endeavour to prevent any unneceſſary Increaſe of our Land Forces, not being influenced either by the pretended Apprehenſions, or real Fears of an Adminiſtration, the *Boldeſt in Domeſtick*, but, as we apprehend, the *Moſt Puſillanimous in Foreign Tranſactions*.

2. Becauſe we conceive, that Dangers alledged from Diſaffection at Home, are, in a great Meaſure, groundleſs; no Symptoms of ſuch Diſaffection having appear'd for many Years, and the Principles upon which it was formerly grounded, being almoſt univerſally worn out and exploded. And we think it highly neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between Diſaffection ariſing only from the Conduct of the Adminiſtration and Diſaffection to his Majeſty and his Royal Family, tho' ſome may deſire to blend them.

them. For had the preſent General Diſſatisfaction at the *inglorious*, tho' *burthenſome Meaſures*, of the Adminiſtration, been, in Truth, Diſaffection to his Majeſty, as hath been often falſely ſuggeſted by thoſe who deſire to confound his Cauſe with their own, twice the Number of Troops now propoſed would not be ſufficient to ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom; but, on the contrary, we are perſuaded, that the Duty and Loyalty of the Nation to his Majeſty and His Royal Family, and their Hopes from his Virtues, have check'd and kept the Diſſatisfaction againſt the Adminiſtration within the due Bounds of Concern and Lamentation.

3. Becauſe, conſidering the Advantage of our Situation, as an Iſland, and our Superiority at Sea, it is impoſſible for us to think ourſelves in any Danger of an Invaſion from *Spain*, even if thoſe Fleets were now in their Ports, which we ſuffer'd them to ſend to *America*: Nor can we conceive, that about 28,000 effective Men, now actually in this Kingdom, with all the Advantages of Horſe and Artillery, is not ſufficient to ſecure us from any Body of Foot, that any other Power could poſſibly Land on our Coaſts by Surprize. And, as for any great Embarkation, it can neither be made on a ſudden, nor in Secret; we muſt have timely Notice to provide Superior Fleets, (which, in ſuch a Caſe, we preſume, would be *allow'd* to act) to ſtrengthen our own Corps, and render ſuch an Attempt wholly impracticable: In which Opinion we are more confirmed, becauſe, that in the moſt Glorious Year of the laſt War, when the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Army were in the Middle of *Germany*, out of the Reach of giving us any Aſſiſtance at Home, it was not thought neceſſary by the wiſe Adminiſtration of the Time, to keep above 9000 Men in this Iſland, for our Defence againſt *France*, then irritated by our Succeſſes; and ſurely, three times that Number muſt be now abundantly ſufficient, unleſs more are wanted for Purpoſes not thought of by former Adminiſtrations, nor yet openly avow'd by this.

4. Becauſe, whatever Demands may be made upon us by our Allies on the Continent, we conceive may be anſwered by the Foreign Troops now in our Pay; and ſhould any further Aſſiſtance to them be neceſſary,

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it will not only be cheaper and ſafer to us, but more advantageous and agreeable to thoſe Powers themſelves, that we ſhould furniſh our Quota's in Money, with which they may raiſe a greater Number of Men than we are oblig'd to ſupply.

5. Becauſe it has been undeniably proved, that this Method of Augmentation by new Corps is, by One Third more expenſive than that of adding private Men to Companies; the Expence of raiſing thoſe 5705 Men amounting to 116322*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* whereas 5780 raiſed by additional Men to Companies, with a Second Lieutenant to each Company, would have amounted to but 86992*l.* 15*s.* which would be not only a preſent Saving of 29329*l.* but a future Saving of 10134*l.* *per Annum* upon the Half Pay of the Officers of thoſe Seven Regiments, the few Officers taken out of the Half Pay only excepted. And we think, that, at a Time when the Publick Expence is ſo very conſiderable, the ſtricteſt OEconomy is requiſite, the better to enable a *burthen'd* and *indebted* Nation to continue thoſe Expences that may be more neceſſary to be borne, than eaſy to be ſupply'd. And, as to the Advantage of the Service, the Facts plainly proved in the Debate, together with the Practice of moſt other Nations in *Europe*, and, in particular, of his Majeſty's Electoral Dominions, convince us, that if this Augmentation was made by additional Men to Companies, with a proper Increaſe of Serjeants and Corporals, the Military Service, at leaſt, for which alone it ought to be intended, would be better carried on than by the Methods now purſued.

6. Becauſe Arguments drawn from the Uſage of *France*, we conceive, do not hold with relation to us, it being well known, that the Expence of 150000 *French* Troops do not amount to more than 50000 *Engliſh*; that their Government, tho' once Limited, is now Abſolute and Military. That the Poverty of their unmerous Nobility forces moſt of them into the Army, where the Court is glad to engage and keep them in Dependence; and that no Danger can ariſe to that Conſtitution from the Civil Influence, which may attend ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, their Parliament being only nominated by the Crown, and long ſince reduc'd by *Miniſterial Arts*

Arts, from their Original Power and Dignity, to be no more than Courts of Juſtice and Revenue.

7. Becauſe we apprehend, that this Method of Augmentation by new Corps may be attended with Conſequences fatal, in Time, to our Conſtitution, by increaſing the Number of Commiſſions, which may be diſpoſed of with regard to *Parliamentary Influence only*; and when we look back upon the Conduct of the Adminiſtration, in relation to Military Affairs, we have but too much Reaſon to ſuſpect, that *Parliamentary Conſiderations* have, of late, been the principal Cauſes of *Favour* and *Diſgrace*. We have lately too ſeen new-rais'd, raw, and undiſciplin'd Regiments ſent abroad upon the moſt important Services, and others, ſeemingly much fitter for thoſe Services, *peaceably* encamp'd at Home, for no other Reaſon, as is generally ſuppos'd, than the different Situations of the reſpective Officers of the ſeveral Corps. But this, at leaſt, is certain, that, in all the new-rais'd Regiments ſent to *America*, there is but *One Single Member of Parliament*, which could hardly have been the Caſe of any equal Number of Regiments in the whole Service. And what further induces us to entertain theſe Suſpicions is, that this Method of Augmentation, by One Third the moſt expenſive, and by no means proved to be the moſt conducive to the Service, ſhould be preferred at this Time, when an OEconomy, proportion'd to the Greatneſs of our Expences, ſeems particularly requiſite, ſince the War, by our Inaction hitherto, and the Advantages thereby given to the Enemy, may now probably be of long Duration, if not of doubtful Succeſs. Our Diſtruſt of the Motives of this Augmentation, which creates at once 370 Officers, which, by the Removals in the Army, may occaſion three times that Number of new Commiſſions, ought to be the greater, and our Care to prevent the ill Effects of it the more vigilant, ſo near the Election of a new Parliament; a *Criſis!* when any Increaſe of *Influence* gain'd to a Miniſter, may give a deciſive and incurable Wound to this Conſtitution; and we cannot forget, that an Augmentation of 8040 Men was likewiſe made the very Year of the Election of the preſent Parliament, by bringing over Eight Regiments from *Ireland*, and by additional

ditional Men to Corps in *Britain*, which Time has ſince ſhewn were never intended for Foreign Service, tho' they were ſaid to be deſigned for the Preſervation of the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which we then lay under the ſame Engagements, both of Intereſt and Treaties, to defend. The Number of Officers in Parliament has gradually increaſed, and is now more conſiderable than ever; and tho' we think the Gentlemen of the Army as little liable to *undue Influence*, as any other Body of Men, yet we think it would be very imprudent to truſt the very Fundamentals of our Conſtitution, the Independence of Parliaments, to the *uncertain Effects* of *Miniſterial Favour* or *Reſentment*. As it is well known, that the *Four Eldeſt Officers* of the Army (the *only Officers* who have ſerved in any high Rank Abroad) are now diſplac'd, without any Crime having ever been alledged againſt them; we have great Cauſe to dread, that an Army thus *circumſtanced*, and thus *influenced*, would, in each Capacity, be fatal to our Liberties, ſince *Miniſterial Art*, in Parliaments, can alone deſtroy the *Eſſence* of our Conſtitution, and *open Violence* alone, the *Forms* of it.

Ward,
Buccleugh,
Greenwich,
Shaftsbury,
Foley,
Falmouth,
Bedford,
Hereford,
Aylesford,
Cheſterfield,
Denbigh,
Weſtmoreland,
Carliſle,
Cobham,
Bathurſt,
Bruce,
Gower,
Macclesfield,
Montjoy,
Manſel,
Exeter,
Bridgwater,
Briſtol,
Berkſhire,
Thanet,
Maſham,
Haverſham,
Halifax,
Abingdon,
Kerr.

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